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Congress, issued last July, also recommended the creation of such a select committee in the House. In the other Chamber a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct has been in existence since 1964. The House has been derelict in its failure to follow suit.

At the beginning of this Congress the House refused to seat, pending investigation, a Member of long standing because of apparent—one is compelled to say transparent—abuse of his perquisites and privileges as a Member of the House of Representatives and chairman of an important committee. Allegations of misbehavior on the part of this Member had long been blazoned in the press, yet no investigation of his conduct was forthcoming in the House until the courts in his home State charged him with criminal contempt. This is a sad commentary on the moral conscience of one of the four most powerful governmental institutions in this country. If there had been in existence an ethics committee, empowered to investigate alleged misbehavior by Members of the House, it is certain that this unfortunate oversight would not have occurred.

Public confidence in the Congress has slipped precipitously in the last few years. To restore that confidence it is imperative that we now create a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct and that we give it the power necessary to insure prompt and effective action when Members of the House abuse their office. The integrity of this body and its Members must not be permitted to be compromised by the deeds of the few. An independent ethics committee is the best guarantor of this.

Mr. Speaker, opinions have been expressed that a Member once brought before such a committee would stand convicted in the public's eye even should the committee exonerate him of all allegation of misbehavior. This contention will not survive scrutiny. This Nation still believes in the innocence of the accused until guilt is proven beyond a reasonable doubt. I see no reason why this high principle of justice will be voided because a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct might investigate a Congressman's behavior. Indeed, a "clean bill of health" from the committee should dispel the doubts and concern which might obtain about a Member's actions. To doubt this indicts the public's sense of fair play, decency, and justice. Let us remember, furthermore, that the purpose of the committee would be not to act as an inquisitor but rather as an investigator. Its purpose would be to ascertain the facts in any case, report these to the House, and recommend a course of action. We are most emphatically not creating a star chamber here.

Mr. Speaker, the entire question of ethical conduct by a Congressman is a thorny thicket. I cannot believe that any significant number of Congressmen deliberately engage in criminal, or even questionable, conduct. Nevertheless, predicaments face us at every turn. One of the most troublesome of these is the difficult and complex matter of conflict of interest. If a Member is a lawyer, for example, he may be uncertain as to which

clients he, or especially the law firm with which he may be associated, may represent in suits involved with the Government. He may own stock and find himself in a perplexing dilemma because a bill on which he should vote for the interest of his constituency also affects his own vested interests.

Then there is the matter of ex parte communications with agencies of the Government on behalf of constituents. What line may he not trespass in this regard as he attempts to hasten action. Then there is that biennial headache of campaign funds.

These are only three problems encountered by virtually every Congressman for which no adequate guides exist. The Code of Ethics passed in 1958, while a step in the right direction, simply fails to provide assistance to a Congressman in these important areas—and others. A real service would be performed by a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct if it were authorized to recommend a more explicit Code of Ethics for Members of the House with regard to these matters. I, for one, would welcome recommendations of this nature from the committee.

Mr. Speaker, the force of circumstances and logic clearly support the creation of a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct. Temerity and not timidity is the order of the day.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I have today joined a number of my colleagues in the introduction of the ethics and disclosure bill. Passage of this legislation will provide a uniform standard by which all Members of Congress can be judged by the American people. It is our position that no duly elected individual Member of Congress should be judged against any special standard against which all Members are not ready and willing to be judged.

The bill is well conceived, Mr. Speaker, and it stands as a genuine contribution to the establishment of a uniform standard of conduct for the Members of this House. I strongly urge immediate study of and consideration on this important legislation.

This bill is identical to Mr. BUSH's.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, I join today with my colleagues in support of a bill to create a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct. The creation of this committee is vital to restore the confidence of the American people in this Congress and to insure that the present and future Congresses will warrant such confidence and respect.

The American public is entitled to expect from their elected Representatives and the officers and employees of this House, superior standards of conduct. We, as public servants, are entrusted with the responsibility of providing fair and representative government for the welfare of this great Nation. In order to do this, our behavior and conduct must be of the highest quality.

This select committee, which is similar to the one established in the 89th Congress, is desirable for the guidance and protection of Members and House employees. It has become apparent that in order for Members and employees of

this House to give proper and adequate service to the public, standards and a supervisory body must be established.

I believe that this committee, along with the standards it will establish, will provide a suitable deterrent to those who might be tempted to put personal ambition ahead of service to their country. This committee will serve as a guarantee that the Members of the House of Representatives and its employees will meet their sworn obligation to serve God and country.

Tomorrow I will introduce a resolution creating a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct, similar to the resolutions introduced by my colleagues. In addition to creating a Select Committee, this bill will amend the Rules of the House of Representatives by adding rule XLIII. The new rule requires that each Member, officer and employee of the House of Representatives will file the following information with the Clerk of the House:

First, the name and address of any business which is Government controlled or licensed in which the individual has a financial interest, second, the name and address of any professional firm which engages in practice before any department, agency or instrumentality of the United States in which the individual has a financial interest, and third, the name of each person employed by the U.S. Government who is a member of the family or other relative of a Member of the House of Representatives.

The responsibility is upon each of us as Members of the House of Representatives to provide such measures which will insure that all Members, officers and employees of this House will fulfill their sworn duty.

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, the new Members who are proposing that a select committee be established on standards and conduct in the House of Representatives are not attempting to be presumptuous, nor are they suggesting that the Members who came here before them have been guilty of low standards and bad conduct. We know that, with a few possible exceptions, the integrity and honor of the Members of this body are beyond question.

But we are concerned with the public attitude toward the Congress generally. Because of a few highly publicized departures from a standard the American people feel is required of their Representatives in Congress, a belief seems to have grown up that most Members of this honorable body indulge in practices of misconduct of one sort or another. It is at this belief that our resolution is aimed.

Our resolution is not complicated. It would ask for the establishment of a select committee of 12 members—six from each political party—to be named by the Speaker and empowered to investigate any violation of the law by any Member of this body. It would call upon Members to: first, make a full disclosure of the assets, liabilities, honorariums, and so forth, held by them, their spouses or any staff members making more than \$15,000 annually; second, make a full disclosure of any interest,

either financially or through kinship, with any firm practicing before any Federal agency; third, make a full disclosure of any interest, regardless of amount, in any business whose right to operate is regulated by the Federal Government, and fourth, make a full disclosure of any relatives—immediate family—carried on their congressional pay-rolls.

Mr. President, I am convinced that this kind of gesture of honorability is desperately required at this time in our history.

The credibility gap—not only with regard to the conduct of Congressmen—has now grown to such incredible size that it is more than a political issue, it is a menace to this Nation. Our people are confused, utterly, by conflicting statements from Government officials about the war in Vietnam, the need for a missile defense, the subsidizing of left-wing organizations by the CIA, the doubts cast on the Warren Commission's findings, the direction of the economy, the cause of inflation, the increase in crime on the streets, to name just a few examples.

I am convinced that this Congress has a great responsibility to resolve many of these doubts and I am confident that it will. But on the question of its own honor and integrity, we cannot wait. We must show the American people as quickly as possible that, in this time of widespread disregard for law and order, we intend to keep the U.S. House as far above suspicion as possible. In effect, our own right to act for the American people is at stake in this question of ethics. We must establish it beyond all question and quickly.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, perhaps at no time in this century has the Congress been more sharply studied by the public gaze than the present. Perhaps at no time in recent memory has the reputation of Congress with its collective membership been subject to such popular criticism and censure as today. The tragic and thoughtless behavior of a tiny element of this House has reaped publicity of an adverse nature far in excess of the quantity of the issue. Unfortunately, all Congress is now suspect. Honest, decent, and ethical men have been forced to stand in the baleful light of mistrust that has radiated from the machinations of the few.

Our linen is now on the line. And, as long as it is there, it would be timely to apply some new detergents to the wash and give the American people a whiter and brighter deal. I am pleased to join many of my colleagues today in introducing my own package of soap in the form of an ethics and disclosure bill. Such legislation, like soap, must be more than chosen or passed upon. Ethics do not become a permanent state of affairs from the adoption of such a bill any more than laundry becomes perpetually radiant through one pass in the washer. It takes constant dedication and application to accomplish both jobs.

The bills introduced by myself and my colleagues are only a beginning. The real enforceability of congressional

ethics lies in the inner person of the individual Member. The workability of any such system lies with each of us. As with a religious creed, acceptance must be essentially voluntary in nature.

But today we may choose to begin. Today we must answer a trust, one arising from the biennial mandate of a people that have the right to expect the best from their elected representatives. We can give them no less.

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, along with many of my colleagues, I am introducing legislation today designed to strengthen public confidence in congressional ethics.

The current public image of Congress demands that we address ourselves to the need for tighter standards of conduct for the legislative branch of Government. Some 60 percent of those answering a recent Gallup poll said they believe the misuse of Government funds by Congressmen is fairly common. Of course, we know that such abuses are, in fact, not common, but there have been a number of such polls showing a distressing lack of public faith in the integrity of public officials. The number of identical and similar measures being introduced today demonstrates to the Nation a great desire, particularly on the part of those of us who are newly elected, for some positive steps in this important area.

I am aware that Congress does now have a code of ethics to which any person in Government service should adhere. Unfortunately, the best of codes will not provide a guarantee against occasional misbehavior by Members. Therefore, there is a need for a vehicle in the House to achieve and maintain the highest possible standards by statute with provisions for enforcement thereof. To fill this need, I am introducing legislation to amend the rules of the House in such a manner as to encourage compliance with regard to ethical conduct by compelling public disclosure of financial assets, potential conflicts of interests, and other areas in which Members or their staffs might find themselves—and, thereby, the Congress as an institution—open to public criticism.

I recognize that disclosure is a thorny problem to many of my colleagues, because public officials are also citizens with personal assets and aspirations and who quite naturally feel these matters are private in nature. However, I believe disclosure can be one more effective way to protect the integrity of elective office. As a Michigan State senator, I voted in favor of such a disclosure bill last year. Since its passage, I have found the statute not only helps insure that the public interest will be safeguarded but it can serve as a protective device for legislators against unwarranted charges leveled against them.

Personally, I do not believe it is possible to legislate morality. But it has never been more important than it is today—when we are engaged in a life and death struggle with tyranny—to maintain confidence in our governmental institutions and to strengthen the moral fiber of our Nation. Over the past few years, there have been several highly publicized stories of alleged misconduct by a few

Members of Congress and a few employees. These escapades have hurt the collective reputation of the Congress and of its Members. Wrongdoing must be punished and public faith in the legislative branch must be restored. I believe this legislation will go a long way toward accomplishing these objectives. We can do no less for our constituents and our country.

When an organization finds its reputation tarnished, action must be taken. I sincerely believe, Mr. Speaker, that corrective action in the form I have suggested, while not a guarantee against "bad apples in the barrel," will at least give the public its rightful opportunity to identify those apples which are less than thoroughly wholesome.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join with the other Members of the 90th Congress in support of a resolution to establish a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct.

Events of the past few months have made it crystal clear that such a committee is needed and that the procedures and committees as presently constituted in the House are inadequate to survey the standards and conduct of the Members.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to see the active interest and genuine concern expressed here today by the freshman Republican Members of the 90th Congress, in this united effort to demonstrate that they are concerned about the falling image of Congress, and want to take positive, remedial action.

The Congress has demanded high standards of conduct from other Government officials, particularly members of the Cabinet. It is time that those Members who are concerned, those Members who make up the vast majority of honest and hard-working Congressmen, those Members who are striving to serve their constituents in an effective and meaningful way—it is time that these Members not only ask but demand that this House be put in order.

Mr. Speaker, that demand is being made today. It is being made not only on the floor of this House, but wherever people gather to discuss the affairs of their Nation. The concern expressed here by the new Members of Congress is reflective of a greater public feeling that the time has come to put this House in order.

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, everybody's talking about crime and pointing a finger at the youth of our land as the guilty party. The phrase "juvenile delinquency" has become a frequent part of our conversation.

It is said that 20 percent of our population is 18 or below, and that 50 percent of the crime is committed by young people in this category. However, less than 5 percent of the teenagers commit the crimes. But teenagers—all of them, are labeled with this stigma.

We have something akin to this in the Congress of the United States. One Member has flaunted his disregard for the honesty and dignity of Congress, and so a cloud is cast over the whole. People do not say, one man or a few men are